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ABSTRACT

This work provides an in-depth profile of 1,629 Filipinos living in Mountain View, California. The research was designed to answer questions about how many Filipinos are present, their background, their overall socioeconomic status, their language use, education and use of selected government services. Despite overall appearances of prosperity and success, the dynamic and highly variable Filipino community, it was found, has some problems. The community faces increasing numbers of Filipinos arriving in this country, Filipinos employed in positions which do not utilize their education and training, Filipinos not completing their education, and Filipinos not receiving services for which they are eligible. In addition to details of the research strategies used, this report includes appendices with sample data gathering interview guidelines, a questionnaire, and a publicity poster. (Author/KR)

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THE FILIPINOS IN MOUNTAIN VIEW, CALIFORNIA

A CENSUS TYPE, SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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A PROJECT OF FILIPINO ASSOCIATION OF MOUNTAIN VIEW, INC.

JAMES BEEBE, Principal Investigator

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Preface

The publication of this report represents the achievement of a goal which began as discussions among friends about the needs of the Filipino community. A consistent pattern of community problems began to emerge from these discussions--increased numbers of Filipinos arriving in the community, Filipinos employed in positions which do not utilize their education and training, Filipinos not completing their education, Filipinos not receiving services for which they are eligible. As a prerequisite to improving the situation, a task force was formed to document the problems faced by the community.

This study was undertaken to provide an accurate basis for understanding the Filipino community. Prior to this study, statistical data were not available from any other government or private agencies. We were interested in assessing the current size of the Filipino community. We were interested in a basic demographic description of the community. We were particularly interested in the employment patterns of the community and its use of social services.

Data were collected on 1929 Filipinos living in Mountain View between September 1977 and March 1978. This represents, the Filipino Association believes, 90% of the community and clearly demonstrates the high degree of cooperation given the study by members of the community.

In the area of rapid growth, we found that 80% of the community had moved to Mountain View since 1970. Seventy-seven percent of the community are immigrants to the United States, some of whom came as early as the 1920's and others as recently as the period of the study.

In the area of employment patterns, we have found that almost half of the Filipinos in the community are employed. Of those employed, 37% work as assemblers in the electronic industry. Sixty-one percent of Filipinos with college or trade school education work outside their fields.

Although the average income of a Mountain View Filipino household is $16,529, it is seldom earned by a single wage earner, Instead, contributions to total earnings are distributed as follows: 48% earned by head of household, 28% earned by spouse, 13% earned by children in the work force and 10% earned by other household members. The average household consisted of 4.2 persons.

Less than one-third of one percent of Filipinos in Mountain View receive welfare payments or food stamps.

This study provides an in-depth profile of a comtemporary Filipino community. This is a unique treasure in that it provides the community and the Association with a baseline profile against which to measure our efforts, programs, and progress.

To further the understanding of the situation of Filipinos in contemporary America, the Association has contributed this study to the files of ERIC clearing house on Urban Education (New York) where it will be available in microfiche for a nominal cost. The Association will make the survey data available to interested serious researchers, government and community agencies for further study and analysis.

The final work on a dynamic community such as the Filipino community of Mountain View cannot be spoken--instead let us think of this study as a sign post along the way fo further progress and development.

Antoinette Barrientos
Chairperson (March 1977 - May 1978)
Filipino Association of Mountain View, Inc.

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First and foremost to all the members of the Filipino community who responded so graciously during the interviews, we say "Thank you," "Maraming salamat po," and "Dios ti agngina cadacayo amin apo." Your cooperation has made this study possible.

The path to the implementation of this study has seen the original informal group become a formal non-profit corporation of the state of California. We have learned how to write and present proposals to not one but several sources of funding, overcome rejection and disappointment, receive funding, hire staff, and administer a successful project. Each of the following have volunteered their time and talents to serve on the Board of Directors at some time during this process and their efforts are greatly appreciated: Lumen Balcita, Gene Baldovino, Ben Bruno, Greg Del Fierro, Mely Mari, Tony Marmon, Mel Matias, Delfin Quesada, and Bess Salazar.

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We were fortunate to secure a capable and industrious research staff to carry out this project. Our project director, James Beebe, has been responsible for the overall research design, staff training, data analysis, and preparation of the final report. His previous background and interest in the Filipino community made him uniquely suited to this project. Our research assistants, Gloria Bouis, Percy Draculan, Esther Escudero, Rene Magtibay, Charmaine Mesina, and Cora Oliver have been outstanding in their patience, persistence, and attention to detail. The Board is pleased to present the results of their work.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This work examines some characteristics of 1629 Filipinos living in Mountain View, California. The Filipinos included in this study represent about 90 percent of the estimated 1,800 Filipinos in the community. This estimate was arrived at by assuming that all the Filipino households in the community had been identified and that the households that declined to participate and those that despite repeated attempts could not be contacted in person, have the same household size as the households that were interviewed.

Mountain View is a community of 55,095 (1975 Countywide Census), located almost mid-way between San Jose and San Francisco, California. Filipinos have been a part of the community since the nineteen twenties and as of 1975 were estimated to comprise about two and half percent of the population. The research on which this work is based was designed to answer questions about how many Filipinos are present, their background, their overall socio-economic status, their language use, education, and use of selected government services.

The research project was proposed by the Filipino Association of Mountain View, a non-political and non-social organization incorporated as a non-profit community organization on February 10, 1976. Members of the association represented a broad spectrum of the community. Their personal, sometimes intuitive knowledge of variability within the community convinced them that overall appearances of prosperity and success notwithstanding, the local Filipino community had some problems. Members know of numerous individuals working outside their professions,

of individuals forced to hold more than one job to survive, of young people who have dropped out of school and of individuals who are eligible for public assistance but are not getting it. However, documentation about the nature and extent of problems and an overall picture of the community that could provide context for an analysis of these problems were not available. Many leaders of the Filipino community felt that the 1975 countrywide census had undercounted Filipinos in Mountain View and pointed to figures provided by the local school district that showed Filipino children comprised more than 5 percent of the student population. These leaders also felt that the county census data about the household income of Filipino households was misleading since it failed to weigh the contributions of employed children who live at home and other members of extended families. It was also felt that a critical factor in assessing the overall situation of the Filipino community is the impact of immigration which the county censusdid not consider.

In May of 1977, the Filipino Association submitted a proposal to conduct a census type socio-economic study of Filipinos as a Public Service Project under Tile VI. Since the project was designed to gather previously unavailable information relevant to the planning, delivery, and evaluation of programs and services to Filipinos, it was judged a critical public service. On August 3, 1977 the Santa Clara Valley Employment and Training Board approved a grant to carry out the study and by the beginning of October most of the research staff had been hired and the project had begun.

From the beginning, the project's goal was to produce a final report that would be easily understood by all segments of the community. This precluded the use in this report of multi-variate analysis and many other statistical procedures.

2. RESEARCH STRATEGIES

The goals of the study were to identify all Filipinos in Mountain View and to collect data about both individuals and households. For the purposes of this study, Mountain View was defined as the area identified on maps issued by the Mountain View Chamber of Commer (Landmark Map, December 1975), with one exception. Several families living north of the Bayshore Freeway who used Mountain View as the mailing address, whose children attended Mountain View schools, and who claimed that at the time of the study the area was officially a part of Mountain View were included. Whether a person was included or not was determined by Residence Rules (see Appendix G) that conform with Decennial Census Practice (Bureau of the Budget 1969). Questions on whether each individual had a house someplace else and, if so, how many days they were usually present were used to elicit information necessary to apply these residence rules. Households were defined as individuals occupying a housing unit, and housing units were defined to conform with Decennial Census Practice (see Appendix H) (Bureau of the Budget 1969:48). In order to have meaningful household data, information was collected on non-Filipinos living in households that contain Filipinos. However, information reported about individuals excludes all non-Filipinos unless otherwise indicated. Household data is specified as either based on households that do not contain non-Filipinos, household data that includes everyone present in the household.

Individuals and Households

Since one purpose of the study was to collect in-depth, census-type data about the community, information concerning every Filipino was

sought. Yet interviewing every individual would have been impractical. Moreover, data needed on Filipinos' housing situation and material possessions required that individuals be grouped by households. These cross-purposes were resolved by having the researchers interview one member of each household. To facilitate collecting information from as many households as possible, the decision was also made not to specify that the respondent had to be the head of the household, but only that he or she be at least 16 years old. This decision resulted in limiting the questions to factual information that the respondent would know about himself or herself and about other members of the household. The respondent could not be expected to know the attitudes or opinions of other household members. They represent an opportunity sample of people who happened to be at home and available for an interview, not a representative or random sample of Filipinos in Mountain View. Thus, this research is generally limited to factual information and does not claim to say anything about Filipino attitudes. When the respondents did not know specific information about other members of the household, the answer was recorded as "Does not know" or "DNK." When critical information about occupation, education, and age was not known by the respondents, the household was recontacted by phone for this information. More than eighty households were recontacted by phone to get information the respondents had not known at the time of the interview, to ask questions the interviewer had missed, and to verify data that seemed inconsistent with other coded responses.

Design of the Questionnaire and Preparation for Interviewing

The Board of Directors of the Filipino Association had identified

a few items it wanted covered in the study, and during the project's initial stages, they gave additional topics. They left it to the staff to write the questions and to organize them into a survey instrument or questionnaire. Questions were written so as to permit computer analysis of the results but were also frequently open-ended. The respondent was not forced to choose between limited and suggested answers but, in most cases, was left free to supply their own answers. Questions were designed to encourage respondents to answer using their own words, and the staff was careful to record these actual words whenever possible. Only after answers had been collected were they organized into categories for the purpose of computer analysis. The questionnare was modeled after the Basic Background Items for US Household Surveys, a draft report of the SSRC Working Group on Standardization of Survey Background Items (SSRC:n.d.). A Tagalog version of the Basic Background Items for US Household Surveys that had been adapted for use in the Philippines and used in a village level study (Beebe, 1978), the Bilingual Community Self-Survey (Shannon, et. al., 1967), and the Household Survey Manual 1969 (Bureau of the Budget, 1969) also provided additional questions and suggestions for ways of doing research.

The staff developed English and Tagalog versions of the questions simultaneously with some questions evolving first in English while the other was to use simple English and where appropriate, English phrases and words that have been identified as "Filipino English." For example, questions about race-related problems people have had on their jobs asked whether they had ever been given a "hard time" because they were Filipinos. The Tagalog version aimed for a colloqial Tagalog that could

be easily understood by those who speak Tagalog as a second language. "Deep" or "pure" Tagalog was avoided. First drafts of both the English and the Tagalog versions were reviewed by the Association's Board of Directors, and their improvements were incorporated into a second draft. This draft was pretested with three Filipino families outside Mountain View but in the South Bay area. Two of these pretests used the Tagalog version; the third used the English version. All staff members were present and the respondents were encouraged to comment on the clarity and substance of each question. A third draft was prepared and pretested with five more families outside Mountain View. The Tagalog version was used with four families; the English with the fifth household. At the same time staff members were preparing the second and the third drafts, they received instructions in interviewing techniques. Staff members practiced interviewing by conducting the pretests.

A final step in the preparation of the questionnaire was the comparison of the two versions to insure that they both communicated the same message. To facilitate computer analysis of the answers, each question was assigned a label, and spaces were left on the questionnaire for recoding the number corresponding to the answer for that question.

After the final draft had been prepared and reproduced, each member of the staff interviewed two other members of the staff as additional practice. For the first interviews the staff worked in pairs and while one person interviewed, the other person checked to insure that all questions were asked and that answers were recorded in the right places. The project coordinator was present for the first seven

to twelve interviews conducted by each staff member.

Specific instructions for conducting interviews were prepared in writing and given to each of the staff members in the form of an "Interviewer Information Handbook." During the first several weeks when staff members encountered problems or questions they could not answer, these became the subject of staff meetings, and decisions reached about these situations were written as "Updates" for the "Interviewer Information."

Identifying and Contacting the Community

Before people could be interviewed, they had to be identified and contacted. The first step was the preparation of a list of 759 names, addresses, and in about two thirds of the cases, phone numbers. This list was compiled from lists supplied by members of the Board of Director of the Filipino Association, with one of the largest lists furnished by Tony Marmon. Other lists came from the membership rosters of Filipino clubs and associations in the Santa Clara County area, student organizations, and senior citizen groups. All the names on this initial list were investigatedbut only about a third of the respondents interviewed appeared on it. Some of the lists used in compiling the initial list were more than four years old, and all of them were found to contain numerous names of people who had moved or were non-Filipinos.

The primary source of names were personal referrals. Following each interview, the respondent was asked for names and addresses of their Filipino neighbors, friends and relatives. Respondents often furnished more names. Additional lists of Filipinos were later acquired

from other individuals in the community including lists prepared by Filipino students. When all the names from lists and referrals were combined, they total 1,023. All names were placed on 3 by 5 cards that contained space for recording information on attempts made to contact the person and whether the person had been interviewed. (See Appendix I for sample). Of the 1,023 names, 313 were not found at the given address and there was no way they could be located. Another 71 addresses were found to be non-existent and 147 names were not Filipino households. Once contacted, only 36 households refused to be interviewed; this situation is described in detail later in this report. Twenty-six addresses were not in Mountain View. Eight households that were known to contain Filipinos and 3 households that may have contained Filipinos could not be contacted, despite repeated visits to their homes and calls to their phone numbers. Publicity was used to inform the community of the study and to elicit its help. In the first phase of the publicity program, a poster was prepared that announced the purpose of the study in Tagalog, Ilocano, and English (Appendix J). Copies of the poster were placed in numerous Mountain View stores, especially those known to be frequented by Filipinos, on the campuses of the local high schools and the community college, at local churches, and at several local government offices. The presidents of fourteen Filipino associations or clubs in Santa Clara County were contacted by mail and in some cases, follow-ups were made either in person or over the phone. The presidents of these associations were asked to inform their members of the project. Companies known to employ large numbers of Filipinos were contacted and were requested to include in their

newsletter announcements about the project. Eight companies responded by including news of the project in their newsletters, and a ninth company wrote letters to each of its Filipino employees telling them about the project and requesting their cooperation. The newspaper of the Moffett Field Naval Air Station carried an article about the project as did the Palo Alto Times, the San Jose Mercury and the community newspaper, The View.

Response to the Project Publicity and Channels of Communication

At the end of the interview, the respondents were asked if they had heard about the research project before they had been contacted for the interview. Of the 387 households interviewed, 246 or 64 percent responded they had not previously heard of the project and had not been reached by extensive publicity effort.

Of the respondents who had heard of the project, more than three times as many had heard through personal contacts than through media sources. The most effective media source was the tri-lingual poster; yet it was a source of information about the project for only 3 percent of the respondents (Table 1-1).

Table 1-1 Sources of Information About the Project*

	Frequency	Percent
Had not heard of project	246	64
#Personal Contacts		
Board Members	44	11
Other Interviewees	36	9
Research Staff	21	5
Other Filipinos	7	2

Media		
Posters	11	3
Moffett Newspaper	7	2
Community Newspaper (View)	7	2
Church Newsletter	4	1
Company Newsletters	7	2
San Jose Mercury	2	1

* Based on 387 household interviewed

A second phase of publicity was designed to encourage Filipinos who had not been reached to contact the project and to facilititate recontacting individuals who had been reluctant to be interviewed. This time personal contacts were given the greatest emphasis. The church newsletters and the local newspaper were contacted; and they agreed to carry notices and to provide "news" coverage of the project. On February 12, 1978, two members of the research staff appeared as guests on a weekly Filipino TV show and were interviewed concerning the project.

Introduction

In more than half of all households, contacts were first made by phone, at which time the purpose of the survey was explained. Appointments were arranged at the respondents convenience, including on weekends and/or evenings. Other contacts were made by going directly to the addresses with interviews either conducted at that time or appointments made for a later time. Members of the research staff introduced themselves in Tagalog and presented a letter of introduction in both Tagalog and English. After the respondent had read the letter, the research staff member reviewed seven points with the respondent.

1. That he/she was from the Filipino Association of Mountain View, a private non-profit community organization.

2. That the Association was doing a socio-economic survey of all Filipinos in Mountain View and was attempting to collect information about Filipino families, their housing, education, and jobs.

3. That the information might help improve community services to Filipinos.

4. That answers were strictly confidential and that information about indviduals would not be given to any U. S. or Philippine government agency.

5. That if there were any particular questions that the respondents did not want to answer, he/she should say so.

6. That there were identical questionnaires in Tagalog and English and respondents could choose the one they preferred.

7. Finally respondents were asked if they had any questions.

Community Response

Most respondents seemed satisfied with the explanation they were furnished and were very cooperative. Many respondents felt that it was time for Filipinos to get together, to identify their collective needs, and to do something about it. They viewed the research project as a step in the right direction. Approximately, 15 percent of households served snacks to the interviewers and in some cases, gave them vegetables from their gardens. Almost all respondents at the end of the interview provided names, addresses and phone numbers of friends and relatives. A few respondents were very concerned about how they had been identified, and some were particularly upset that the Project had their "unlisted" phone numbers.

A few households, 36 or approximately 9 percent of the households included in the study refused to be interviewed. Careful records were

maintained on the households that refused to participate and the reasons given for the refusal. No reason was given by respondents from 22 of the households. The most common reason given for refusal to participate in the study was that the respondent was too busy (n=7). Other times, either the husband or wife did not want to (=4) or had had bad experiences with other Filipino Associations (n=3). The addresses of the households that refused to be interviewed are distributed throughout the community. This suggests that their absence from the study does not bias the results. All households that had refused to be interviewed were contacted at the end of the project by letter in a last attempt to explain the project and to elicit their cooperation. None of the households so contacted subsequently agreed to be included in the study. The overall refusal rate is a very low figure for this kind of study and reflects the overall cooperation extended by the community to the project.

Confidentiality

In order to assure that information collected about individuals not be linked to names, the sheet containing names was separated from the rest of the questionnaire immediately after the interview. These cover sheets with names were kept by the staff until the termination of the project so that problems with the data could be corrected; these cover sheets were destroyed at the end of the project. To prevent situations from arising where individuals or groups of individuals would demand the identification of individuals, no list that associated names with numbers was ever prepared. Original questionnaires minus the names are being kept by the Filipino Association of Mountain View.

Data Analysis and Availability of the Data

Respondents were recorded using their actual words whenever possible. These answers were then converted into numbers using instructions contained in a "codebook" prepared by the research staff. Numbers representing answers were transferred to coding sheets and were keypunched. An SPSS data definition program was prepared that identifies each variable (question), the meaning assigned to different numbers and how missing data was to be handled for each question. (See Nie et. al., 1975)

It is the policy of the Filipino Association of Mountain View to make the IBM cards containing the SPSS data definition program, the data, and the "codebook" available to anyone who would like to use them.

Special Note on the Occupation Codes and the Prestige Scores

Occupations included work in the Philippines and in the United States, and sidelines or second jobs, as well as primary jobs. Occupations were coded using a list of about 800 occupations prepared by the National Data Program for the Social Sciences. This list was taken from an index of approximately 23,000 occupational titles used by the Bureau of the Census in the 1970 census of the population and reported in the Alphabetical Index of Industries and Occupation (1971).

The prestige scores assigned to occupations in this study were taken fron a study done by NORC in 1963 and originally designed for use with the 1970 U. S. Census Occupational codes. Prestige scores were generated by asking a sample of Americans to evaluate the social standing of occupations on a nine step "ladder" printed on a cardboard and presented to the respondents. The boxes of the ladder were numbered

1 - 9 from bottom to top. The occupational titles were printed on small cards and the occupational prestige ratings were collected by requesting respondents to sort the cards into boxes formed by the rungs of the ladder. All modifications in the orginal scores done by the National Data Program for the Social Sciences to adapt the 1963 study to the 1970 Census data have been used in this study.

Three things need to be noted regarding the prestige scores reported in this study. First, these scores were the prestige of these occupations more than 15 years ago, and during that time there have been changes in how occupations are evaluated. Second, these are the prestige rankings that non-Filipino Americans assigned to occupations in the United States. Several sutdies suggest Filipinos evaluate their limitations, the prestige scores make it possible to investigate the change in prestige of occupations that occurs when a person immigrates and to note the difference in prestige scores for different groups. Prestige scores are not used to make definitive statements about the prestige of the jobs Filipinos have, but as a tool for comparing the impact of different factors on a summary measure of occupation.

Notes on the organization of tables and the use of percents

This study is based on the 1629 Filipinos who are usually present and the 419 households they comprise. The goa of the research was to develop generalizations about categories of individuals rather than descriptions of particular individuals. Individuals or households were sorted into groups based on their properties, and statements are made about these groups. For example, all the Filipinos in MountainView can be sorted into two groups, based on whether they are male or female.

Table 1 - 2 Age by Ten Year Group

	Frequency	Percent
0 - 9	324	21
10 - 19	308	19
20 - 29	326	21
30 - 39	243	15
40 - 49	131	8
50 - 59	112	7
60 or older	148	9
Declined to answer	15	1
Did not know	22	1
Total	1,629	100

There are 1,592 cases for which the ages are known and persons ages 10 to 19 make up 19 percent of the known cases. (Table 1-2)

In some cases a question applies only to a certain group of Filipinos, and in these cases the numbers apply only to individuals for which there are answers for that group. For example, the question about civil status was asked only for individuals ages 15 and above. (Table 1-3)

Table 1 - 3 Civil Status of Persons Age 15 and Above

	Frequency	Percent
Presently married	722	61
Widowed	50	4
Separated	14	1
Divorced	14	1
Never married	378	32
Total	1,178	100

The question was asked of 1,179 indivuduals, the respondents did not know the answer for one individual and of those over the ages of 15 for whom the civil status is known, 61 percent are presently married.

For most questions the number of individuals about whom the respondents did not know the answers is limited to less than ten. Aside

from age, the only question where a relatively large number "declined to answer" was the question regarding income from the main occupation. Even on this question the "declined to answer" is limited to 38 individuals or 5 percent of individuals who are employed.

In addition to sorting all cases by sex and by age, it is possible to sort by both sex and age at the same time. (Table 1-4_

Table 1.4 Age by Sex

	Female	Percent of Female	Male	Percent of Male	TOTAL	Percent of All Individuals
0- 9	133	17	191	24	324	21
10-19	154	20	154	19	308	19
20-29	178	23	148	18	326	20
30-39	122	15	121	15	243	15
40-49	70	9	61	8	131	8
50-59	71	9	41	5	112	7
60 or older	56	7	92	11	148	10
TOTAL	784	100	808	100	1592	100

There are 178 females and 148 males between the ages of 20 and 29. Twenty-three percent of the females and 18 percent of the males are between 20 and 29.

Implications

The research project in accomplishing its initial explicit goals of preparing a report on the Filipinos in Mountain View also proved to be of value in several ways that had not been anticipated. Five diffi-

rent areas can be identified in which this research project was able to make significant contributions.

The research project increased the broader community's awareness of the Filipino community and increased the Filipino community's awareness of its own size, experiences and problems of Filipinos, and the enormous variability in their backgrounds. The project proved that civic-minded Filipinos could unite in identifying needs and seeing a project through. Members of the community were willing to invest tremendous amounts of time and effort in a project that contained no direct rewards for such investments other than the intrinsic rewards from the project's completion.

The research project resulted in the research staffs being trained in research methodology, including the computer analysis of survey data. Different members of the research staff brought to the Project different skills that in the course of the Project were shared with other members of the Staff. The research skills that were acquired or sharpened become valuable resources both for the individuals involved, and also for the entire community, since it now has these skills available.

The results of the research provide the only moderately large scale study of the socio-economic condition of Filipinos in this country. A fairly extensive research of the literature available on Filipinos in this country failed to locate any comparable studies. Besides the information this study provides about Filipinos, it also provides a model for this type of research on similar communities elsewhere.

The results of the study provide the basis for additional research

on Filipinos in this country. This study provides a description of conditions and can only make limited inference about the causes. Specific results dealing with education and employment can not always be fully understood given existing data but would seem to suggest the need for research in these areas. Specifically, there appears a need for research on antecedent conditions of success such as communication competency, efficiency, self confidence, and the culture-conditioned evaluation of competency by the broader non-Filipino community.

The most important results of the study to the Filipino Association of Mountain View concern its ability to contribute to the delivery of better services to the community. The goal is to take these results and to attempt to identify specific needs that are not being met, to identify within the area agencies and services that are relevant to these needs and to try to discover what, if anything, prevents Filipinos from using agencies and services that are relevant to their needs. It is anticipated that the results of this study will be of particular value to agencies that are presently trying to serve the needs of Filipinos and that the study will enable such agencies to better understand the community with which they are working. The Filipino Association of Mountain View anticipates spending approximately six months working with existing agencies in their attempt to serve the community and at the end of that time to identify specific needs, if there are any, that existing services either can not or will not provide. The Association is then committed to working with both Filipinos and the non-Filipino community to establish the machinery that may be needed for the solution of these very specific problems.

Table 1 - 5 Sex of Mountain View Filipinos

	Frequency	Percent
Female	807	49
Male	822	51
Total	1,629	100

The table also provides the percent of individuals in each category. Percentages in tables as well as in the narrative descriptions of these tables are rounded to the largest whole number. Rounding to the nearest whole percent is done to simplify results and to prevent the appearance of scientific exactness evident in a number such as 22.47 percent. Such precision is not characteristic of any survey research regardless of the care taken in doing the research. Because of rounding, percentages do not always add to 100.

Sometimes either the respondent did not know information about other members of the household or did not want to give the answers, or the interviewer, by accident, failed to ask a particular question. In such situations the number of cases is reduced and percentages are based only on the number of cases for which there are responses.

Respondents did not want to give the ages of 15 individuals (often their own ages) and did not know the ages of 22 other individuals.

3. BRIEF HISTORY OF FILIPINOS IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN MOUNTAIN VIEW

Philippine history and the lives of many Filipinos have been greatly influenced and in some cases determined by the "special relationship" between the United States and the Philippines. Related to this have been a series of political and socio-economic factors that have triggered an intermittent but dramatic growth of Filipino immigration to the United States. Both the "special relationship" and the continuing large-scale immigration of Filipinos date from 1898 when, after 300 years of colonial domination and a mock battle in Manila Bay, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States. The United States had succumbed to what Mark Twain called the "Philippine Temptation" and for the next 46 years, the Philippines was a colonial possession of the United States. The United States government's attitude towards its possession was reflected in a statement attributed to President McKinley, stating that it was the moral duty of the United States "to educate the Filipinos and uplift and civilize and Christianize them and to fit the people for the duties of citizenship."

The Filipinos had fought and defeated the Spaniards before the Americans arrived in Manila Bay; they wanted independence, not the replacement of one colonial power by another. A bloody military pacification program had to be waged before the Americans could get on with their "mission." Education required schools, and even before all armed resistance to the Americans had ended, decisions were made to establish a public school system, to use English as the medium of instruction, and to import American teachers both to staff the schools and to train

Filipinos as teachers. While American language and culture were being imported to the Philippines as early as 1903, Filipinos were being granted government scholarships to study in the United States. Many of the earliest Filipino immigrants were scholars who chose to stay in the United States.

While the rhetoric describing the relationship between the United States and the Philippines emphasized what the former did for the latter, the relationship was in fact based on what the Philippines could do for the United States. The traditional economic relationship between a colonial power and its possession, which defined the possession both as a source of raw materials and market for its finished goods, took on an added dimension. Almost from the beginning, the Philippines provided labor for job categories in the United States that Americans could not or would not fill. At about the same time that the United States acquired the Philippines, it annexed Hawaii. The expansion of the sugar industry in Hawaii required cheap labor which China and Japan initially supplied, but with the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1900 and the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907, these traditional sources of labor were disrupted. Businessmen considered the Philippines as an ideal source of cheap labor since it was under American occupation and would therefore be "free from the danger of being abruptly closed by restrictive immigration legislation" (Rabaya 1971:189). While only about 160 Filipinos were actively recruited, word of the opportunities for wealth and adventure spread rapidly. By 1919, 25,000 Filipinos were in Hawaii (Rabaya 1971:189), and the 1920 census identified 5,603 Filipinos residing in the United States mainland, many of whom were

government scholars (Racelis and Pecson 1959).

The recruitment of Filipinos as messboys for the United States Navy in World War I further contributed to the early increase in Filipino immigration. After the war, many of these Filipinos elected to stay in the United States, particularly on the West Coast (McWilliams 1973).

The nineteen twenties were a time of rapid economic expansion on the West Coast. Limited opportunities were available to Filipinos ready to work as fruit pickers, rice harvesters, cannery workers, houseboys, cooks, and at other low level jobs. The Immigration Act of 1924 explicitly excluded Chinese and Japanese because of their ineligibility for citizenship. However, Filipinos who were considered neither aliens nor citizens but nationals traveling with American passports were not affected. In order to go to the United States, they had only to arrange for a health card and credit for the trans-Pacific passage.

While the experience of Filipinos throughout the western part of the United States during the nineteen twenties is believed to have been similar, their experience in California has been documented (see Bloch 1930) and has played a major role in shaping stereotypes about Filipinos. In 1923, 2,426 Filipinos arrived in California, and between then and 1929 immigration from the Philippines averaged 4,177 annually. The Filipinos who arrived in California during the nineteen twenties were generally male (males outnumbered females 14 to 1), young (84 percent were under 30 in contrast to the general California population where only 23 percent were under 30), and unmarried (77 percent of the Filipinos were single in contrast to the 48 percent of the total California

population). For their work in hotels, restaurant and private houses, they were usually paid about $67 a month plus room and board. Filipinos in the agricultural industries received an averaged of $3.00 a day. Some employers were said to prefer Filipino workers to white and Mexican workers because the former were considered steadier, more tractable and more willing to put up with longer hours, poorer board and worse lodging facilities.

During the Depression white labor came to view the Filipinos as an economic threat, and the same jobs that the whites had been unwilling to accept during the twenties were suddenly being contested. The fact that the Filipinos were generally young, male and single increased their impact on and visibility in the job market. At the same time, their age and sex imbalance brought them into conflict with the dominant white majority, especially when they had contact with white women. Anti-Filipino race riots occurred in Exeter, California in late 1921 and in Watsonville, California in January of 1930. The Exeter incident was enacted by "whites throwing missiles at the Filipinos" in the company of white women. In Watsonville, the immediate cause of a riot that led to the death of a Filipino was the employment of white female entertainers by the Palm Beach Filipino Club (Bloch 1930:74)

In the aftermath of these riots, the California legislative passed Joint Resolution No. 15 which petitioned Congress to restrict Filipino immigration.

> The present absence of restriction on immigration from the Philippines Islands opens the door annually to thousands of Filipinos, causing unjust and unfair competition to American labor and multiplying the beneficial results to be expected from a national policy of restrictive immigration.
> (California Joint Resolution No. 15, 1930)

The early Filipino immigrants were victims of general anti-Oriental stereotypes and had the added difficulty of having no governmental authority to defend their interests. They often encountered discrimination and were barred from some hotels and restaurants. When housing could be found, it was not uncommon for ten or twelve men to share a single room or apartment. The Filipino community's age and sex imbalance combined with discrimination to present the appearance of life styles that increased the majority's negative views to Filipinos.

Another part of the problem faced by the early Filipino immigrants was their innocence coupled with their high expectations of America.

> Western people are brought up to regard Orientals or colored people as inferior.....Filipinos are taught to regard Americans as equals.....The terrible truth in America shatters the Filipino dream of fraternity..... If I had not....studied about American institutions and racial equality in the Philippines, I should never have minded so much the horrible impact of American chauvinism. (Carlos Bulosan as quoted by Melendy 1972:141).

In 1935 the Philippine Independence Act (that granted independence in 1946) established an immigration quota of fifty Filipinos a year, and it seemed as though Filipino immigration had ended. Not only was new immigration halted, but the Repatriation Act of 1935 offered Filipinos in the United States free transportation back to the Philippines provided they did not reenter the United States. But economic conditions in the Philippines were worse than conditions in this country, and by 1935 Filipinos in the United States numbered more than 100,000, many of whom had been here for upwards of ten years. Only 2,000 chose to return to the Philippines.

World War II began a new chapter in Philippine immigration. The invasion of the Philippines by the Japanese and the heroic but ultimately

futile defense by Filipino and American troops increased American consciousness about the Philippines. During and immediately after the war, some of the discriminatory bars were lifted. Resident Filipinos were able to get better paying jobs in shipyards and other defense facilities. Most eligible Filipinos enlisted in the army or the navy, and this became grounds for citizenship.

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 established an Asian Pacific quota of 100 per country, making it possible for more Filipinos to enter the United States as immigrants. Within the quota of 100, new preferences were given to skilled workers, parents of American citizens, and spouses and children of permanent resident aliens. A new immigration law was enacted in 1965 and became effective in 1968. It increased the annual allotment of visas to 20,000 per country, continued to give preference to skilled workers, especially professionals, and relatives of permanent residents while excluding from the numerical limitation parents, spouses, and the unmarried children of American citizens. The new laws made gave preference to employment categories in short supply in the United States, such as doctors, and nurses. Once again the Philippines became an exporter of labor and direct contributor to the economic and social well-being of the United States.

The impact of the new law on Filipino immigration is evident when the top five users of Immigrant visas are examined.

Figure 1 Shifts in Top Five Users of IVN*

1967		1969		1971		1973		1975	
exico	42,371	Mexico	44,623	Mexico	50,103	Mexico	70,141	Mexico	62,553
uba	33,321	Italy	23,617	Phil	28,471	Phil	30,799	Phil	31,323
taly	26,565	Phil	20,744	Italy	22,137	Cuba	24,147	Cuba	28,100
. Brit	24,965	Canada	18,582	Cuba	21,611	Korea	22,930	Korea	25,611
anada	23,442	Jamaica	16,947	Greece	15,939	Italy	22,151	India	14,336

*Based on 1975 Annual Report, Immigration and Naturalization Service

In 1967 the Philippines was not even among the top five users of immigration visas but had jumped to third in 1969 and has been second to Mexico since 1971. Since certain close relatives of U.S. citizens do not fall within the 20,000 annual numerical limitation, the number of immigrants exceeding the 20,000 ceiling is apt to increase. Only 2274 Filipinos became U.S. citizens in 1968. By 1969 the number had increased by more than 70% to 3,877. By 1973 the 1969 figure had doubled. In 1974 and 1975, 28,903 Filipinos became U.S. citizens. The 15,330 Filipinos who became naturalized U.S. citizens in 1975 represent an almost 600 percent increase over the number in 1964.

The 1970 U.S. Census provides the only nation-wide profile of Filipinos in America, but because of continued immigration since 1970 and a normal fertility rate, the 1970 population of Filipinos probably represents less than half of the present population. The 1970 U.S. Census enumerated 350,082 persons of foreign stock whose country of origin is the Philippines. Of these 184,842 are listed as foreign born and 165,240 are listed as natives of foreign or mixed parentage. Since the Census was completed, immigration has increased the size of

the Filipino community by at least 240,000. Assuming a very conservative natural growth rate of at least 2 percent for both Filipinos already present in 1969 and for those who have immigrated sine then, an increase of another 27,000 can be anticipated. The Filipino community in the United States can be expected to be close to a million people by 1980.

Filipinos in Mountain View

"Old Mountain View" began in the 1950's as a settlement with a few residents and businesses along El Camino Real. It developed into an important stage stop on the route to San Francisco. The old town shifted to the present area centered along Castro Street close to the railroad when the San Francisco-San Jose Railroad was completed in 1864 and a depot was built northwest of the old town.

Mountain View, named for the Santa Cruz Mountains to the west, was incorporated in 1902. The opening of the Moffett Field Naval Air Station in 1933 boosted the town's growth. The population stood at only 4,000 in 1940. Most of the residents were farm workers in the extensive landholdings in the valley. In the late nineteen fifties, Mountain View experienced spectacular growth, with the farmlands and orchards giving way to industrial parks and housing.

Filipinos first came to Mountain View in the nineteen twenties. Most of them were young, unmarried men who came with the vision of a better life. For the $95 third-class fare on a trans-Pacific liner, the early Filipinos could reach a West Coast port like San Francisco, Los Angeles or Seattle. Some came directly from the Philippines to the mainland while others first lived and worked in Hawaii. Prospects of the better economic future, possibly including finishing school and

almost always including being able to send money back to relatives in the Philippines, brought Filipinos to the jobs available in Mountain View. For many, their dreams remained dreams, for, as one old timer puts it, "working on farms was too much work for too little money."

In those days, fruit orchards, mostly owned by Japanese and Chinese, abounded in the Mountain View area. Filipinos would go from one orchard to another in teams of from five to thirty people. They would pick pears, tomatoes, strawberries, prunes, apricots, and raspberries, and would earn 25 cents to 35 cents a box per picker. After work some of the Filipinos would go onto town for a movie, then drop by their favorite meeting place, the poolroom-barbershop then located between Hope Street and View Street, where the present U.S. Post Office is.

With the influx into California of new groups of agricultural workers in the mid-thirties, the "dust bowl" refugees from the Midwest and later the Mexicans from the South, many Filipinos had to seek other jobs. They often ended up doing domestic and personal service work in hotels, restaurants, businesses and private households.

By 1940, 20% of the present Filipino population had already moved to Mountain View. Despite often difficult working conditions and sometimes extremely sub-standard living facilities, Filipinos did not stop coming. By 1965 almost 100% of the present Filipino residents of Mountain View were already here.

The Naval Air Station, N.A.S.A.'s Ames Research Center, and the electronics and aerospace industries, which were established in the fifties, became and continue to be, a steady attraction for Filipinos seeking jobs in the area. Mountain View's proximity to San Francisco

and San Jose make living and working in the area especially appealing to Filipinos. They enjoy ready access to a large Filipino community without any of the problems typical of the large urban centers. The 1975 country-wide Census enumerated 1285 Filipinos out of a total Mountain View Population of 55,095.

4. DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION

The Filipino community in Mountain View can be described in terms of its total size, its origins, the structure of its households, and the civil status, age and citizenship of its members. Such descriptions reflect the present status of the community and provide an indication of future directions. Descriptions of this kind reveal tremendous differences within the community and suggest that very few, if any, statements can be made that describe all the Filipinos in Mountain View.

Residence in Mountain View

In order to conform with U.S. Decennial Census practices, those who usually live in the housing unit and persons staying or visiting there who have no other home were considered residents. Specific residence rules (included in the Appendix of this report) were followed when applicable but do not cover all the situations found in the Filipino community. In cases of doubt, researchers were instructed to collect data on everyone present and to inquire specifically as to whether individuals had another home elsewhere; how many days on average they were usually present in the household being interviewed; and why they maintained another residence. For analytical purposes, those individuals not covered by the "residence rules" who had another home and were present less than five days a week were not considered residents of Mountain View. The use of these stringent rules for identifying residents resulted in the elimination of 31 "non-residents". These included temporary visitors from the Philippines, some visiting grandparents, some

college students, and those in the military or with jobs requiring them to maintain a residence someplace else.

Race and Ethnic Identity

Most of the results reported in this work concern individuals who either identified themselves as Filipinos or were identified by the respondent for the household as Filipinos. Used this way, the term Filipino refers to individuals classified as a racial group. Some of these individuals are not Filipino citizens, others identify their ethnic identity as American, Filipino-American, simply Filipino, or one of the Philippines' numerous language-ethnic groups. About one percent of the individuals are identified as Filipino-mestizos but for the purpose of analysis, are included with the Filipinos. The term mestizo refers to anyone who has one parent who is Filipino and another who is non-Filipino.

Table 4 - 1 Race of Individuals Identified as Filipino

Filipino	1566
Chinese Mestizo	2
White Mestizo	58
Black Mestizo	2
Japanese Mestizo	1

As long as Filipinos were present in a household, data was collected on all individuals residing therein. If the one percent Filipino mestizos are incorporated with the Filipinos, this leaves some 67 non-Filipino household members.

Table 4 - 2 Race of All Household Members

	Frequency	Percent
Filipino	1623	96
White	56	3
Black	4	0
Mexicans	2	0
Chinese	3	0
Japanese	2	0
Total	1670	100

Table 4 - 3 suggests that the non-Filipino household member is likely to be either the head of the household or the spouse of the head.

Table 4 - 3 Type of Family Member of Non-Filipinos

Male Head	30
Female Head	1
Male Spouse	2
Female Spouse	18

In 51 of the 67 household units in Mountian View containing non-Filipinos, either the head of the household or the spouse of the head is a non-Filipino.

The choice of an "ethnic label" provides the Filipino with several options, and the particular label chosen varies with both the respondent's view of himself or herself and with the situation. One may expect the use of the more general term "Filipino" in situations involving non-Filipino groups, while particular language-ethnic group labels can often be expected where only Filipinos are present.

Respondents were asked whether they considered themselves: "Tagalog, Ilocano, Kapampangan, Ilonggo, Cebuano. Boholano, Filipino-American, American, simply Filipino, or what?" In addition, respondents were asked what every other household member considered himself or herself. Here the respondents' replies might more accurately depict their views of other household members rather than the latter's self-perceptions. While respondents' answers about themselves may be more accurate, they are not a representative sample and, consequently, cannot be generalized onto the entire community.

Table 4 - 4 Comparison of Ethnic Identity by Whether Respondent or Other Household Member

	Respondent	Other Household Members	Total
Tagalog	87	179	266
Ilocano	108	308	416
Kapampangan	11	20	31
Cebuano	13	22	35
Pangasinense	13	30	43
*Other Filipino Groups	61	248	309
Simply Filipino	119	358	477
American	5	45	50

*Includes Ilonggo, Boholano, Waray, Aklan, Bicolano, Zambal

It is interesting to note that about one-third of the respondents identify themselves as "Ilokano", another as "simply Filipino", and the rest saw themselves as one of 13 other labels. Even when mostly Filipino ethnic/language groups were given as choices, many individuals preferred broader terms like "simply Filipino" or "Filipino-American", possibly

indicating their desire to minimize the specific ethnic divisions that have characterized the Philippines. Despite their Filipino racial identity, about 10 percent of the respondents chose either American or Filipino-American as an ethnic identity. It should also be noted that while the particular examples given were intended to prompt other labels, they have limited responses for groups not included as examples, like Pangasinense.

Since in the Philippines the language spoken while growing up is closely associated, if not identical with, ethnic identity, the relationship of languages and ethnic identity provides additional insight into the community's ethnic identity.

Table 4-5 Comparison of Ethnic Identity and Language Spoken While Growing Up

Ethnic Identity	English	Tagalog	Ilokano	Kapam.	Cebuano	Pangas.	Other	Total
Tagalog	38	210	2	1	0	2	13	264
Ilokano	41	27	340	0	0	5	3	416
Kapampangan	1	2	2	25	0	0	1	31
Cebuano	2	3	0	0	26	0	4	35
Pangasenense	3	0	10	0	0	24	6	43
*Other Filipino Groups	12	5	2	0	7	0	32	58
Filipino-American	161	12	43	0	11	1	23	251
Simply Filipino	135	123	132	11	12	12	52	477
American	46	1	0	0	0	0	3	50

More than 65 percent of individuals who grew up speaking English are identified either as Filipino-American or simply Filipino, while 64 percent of those identified as Filipino-American grew up speaking English. The

use of English while growing up appears closely tied to the choice of a general ethnic label such as Filipino or Filipino-American as opposed to a specific language-ethnic group label such as Ilokano. While Ilocano was the language used while growing up by 33 percent of the individuals, only 26 percent of the individuals are identified as ethnically Ilokano. Although Ilokanos are the largest single ethnic-language group, they comprise less than 40 percent of the total Filipino community in Mountain View. Of the language-ethnic groups, Tagalog ranks second, with 24 percent growing up speaking Tagalog while 16 percent are identified as ethnically Tagalog.

Birthplace, Age, and Sex

Seventy seven percent of the Filipinos in Mountain View were born in the Philippines while the remaining 22 percent were born in this country. Table 4-6 gives the place of birth in the Philippines and the United States using Provinces and States grouped into larger categories.

Table 4 - 6 Birthplace of Filipinos in Mountain View

Philippines	Frequency	Percent
Manila and Suburbs (Manila, Quezon City, Caloocan City, Pasay City)	217	18
Ilocos and Mountain Province (Abra, Ilocos Sur, Ilocos Norte, La Union, Mountain Province, Baguio)	228	18
Cagayan Valley and Batanes (Batanes, Cagayan, Isabela, Nueva Viscaya)	34	3
Central Luzon (Bataan, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Tarlac, Zambales)	483	39
Southern Luzon and Islands(Batangas, Cavite, Laguna Marinduque, Occidental Mindoro, Oreintal Mindoro, Palawan, Quezon, Rizal)	142	12

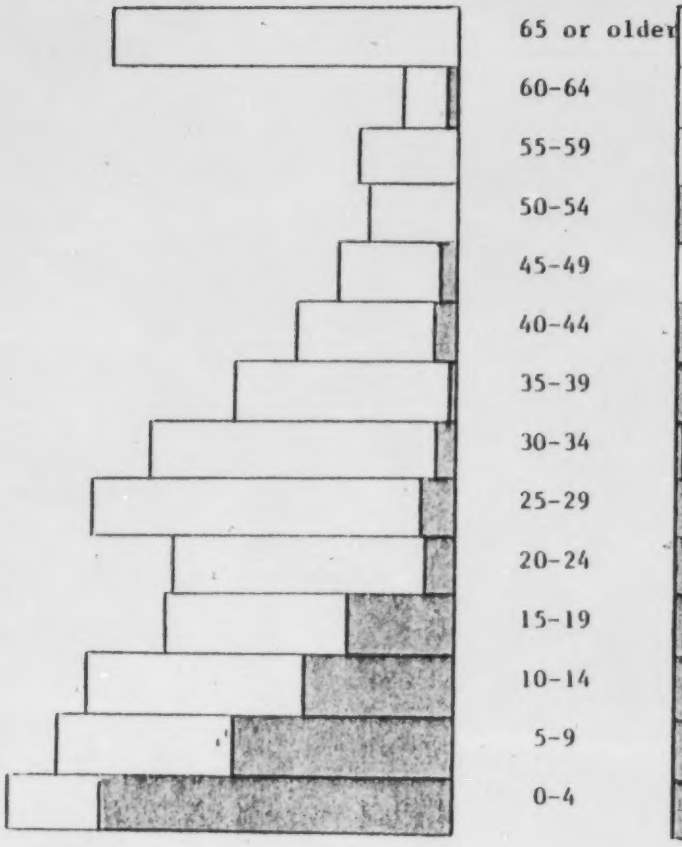
	Frequency	Percent
Bicol (Albay, Camarines Norte, Camarines Sur, Catanduanes, Masbate, Sorsogon)	13	1
Eastern Visayas (Bohol, Cebu, Leyte, Negros Oriental, Samar, Southern Leyte)	54	4
Western Visayas (Aklan, Antique, Capiz, Iloilo, Negros Occidental, Romblon)	52	4
Northern Mindanao (Agusan, Bukidnon, Lanao del Norte Norte, Lanao del Sur, Misamis Oriental, Misamis Occidental, Surigao del Norte, Surigao del Sur)	8	1
Southern Mindanao and Sulu (Cotabato, Davao, Sulu, Zamboanga del Norte, Zamboanga del Sur)	6	1
Total	1,237	100
United States		
San Francisco Bay Area	254	69
Other Places in California	33	9
Pacific (Washington, Oregon, Alaska, Hawaii, Guam)	37	10
New England (Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire Massachusettes, Connecticut, Rhode Islands)	5	1
Middle Atlantic (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania)	7	2
East North Central (Wisconsin. Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio)	4	1
West North Central (Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas)	4	1
North Dakota		
South Atlantic (Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia Virginia, Washington D.C., North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Puerto Rico)	14	4
East South Central (Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi)	1	0
West South Central (Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Texas)	5	1
Mountain (Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico	2	1
	366	100

Over-All Total (U.S. & Phil.) - 1,603

Almost 16 percent of the Filipinos in Mountain View were born in the northern part of the island of Luzon. Almost 13 percent were born either in Manila or the three large cities in its suburbs. Almost 67 percent of the Filipinos born in this country were born in San Francisco Bay Area, and the rest were born in other places in the United States.

Given that 77 percent of the Filipinos in Mountain View are immigrants, the community's age-sex distribution is more directly a reflection of changes in immigration laws than of natural age-sex distribution.

Figure 4-1 Age, Sex, and Place of Birth



MALE						FEMALE					
PHILIPPINE born		U.S. born					U.S. born		Philippine born		
freq	%*	freq	%*				freq	%*	freq	%*	
78	10	0	0			65 or older	0	0	26	3	
13	2	1	0			60-64	0	0	30	4	
21	3	0	0			55-59	0	0	25	3	
20	3	0	0			50-54	5	1	41	5	
23	3	3	0			45-49	0	0	36	5	
31	4	4	1			40-44	2	0	32	4	
49	6	1	0			35-39	2	0	55	7	
66	8	4	1			30-34	1	0	64	8	
75	9	8	1			25-29	7	1	88	11	
57	7	7	1			20-24	12	2	69	9	
41	5	24	3			15-19	20	3	43	6	
55	7	34	4			10-14	30	4	61	8	
40	5	50	6			5-9	31	4	38	5	
21	3	80	10			0-4	53	7	10	1	

*Percent of total

Shaded areas represent persons born in the United States

For the entire population the number of males (n=822) is almost the same as the number of females (n=807). The group of Filipino males over 65, a group almost three and a third times larger than Filipino females of the same age bracket, serves as a reminder of early immigration laws and conditions. Females outnumber males in the 20 to 50 age group by about 20 percent. The Filipinos born in this country are very young, with more than 70 percent aged 14 years or younger and 84 percent aged 19 years or younger.

Civil Status

Sixty-two percent of Filipinos in Mountain View age 16 or older are presently married. About 5 percent are widowed and slightly less than one percent are divorced.

Table 4 - 7 Civil Status of Individuals Over the Age of 15

	Frequency	Percent
Presently married	722	62
Widowed	50	5
Separated	14	1
Divorced	14	1
Never married	378	32
Total	1, 178	100

The relatively large proportion of persons over the age of 15 who are presently married contrast sharply with the small percentage for those who are separated or divorced. Eighty-six percent of those presently married are in their first marriage. Moreover, couples presently in their first marriage have been married an average of 17

years. More than 60 percent of these first marriages have lasted 10 years or more. These figures point to the stability of these first marriages over time.

Table 4 - 8 Previous Civil Status for Filipinos Ever Married

	Frequency	Percent
First marriage	692	86
Previously Divorced	40	5
Previously Widowed	52	7
Previously Separated	17	2
Total	801	100

Age at First Marriage

While a few individuals were first married when they were only 15 (n= 5, 1 percent) or 16 (n= 11, percent 2) or conversely, when they were 60 years or older (n= 5, 1 percent) almost 70 percent of all married individuals married when they were between 20 and 30 years old.

Table 4 - 9 Age at First Marriage and Sex

Age at First Marriage	Frequency	% of F	Frequency	% of M	Frequency	% of All
Under 20	62	16	16	15	78	11
20 - 24	158	41	119	35	277	38
25 - 29	107	28	105	31	212	29
30 - 39	47	12	68	20	115	16
Over 40	8	2	36	11	44	6
Total	382	100	344	100	726	100

In line with both the general tendency for females to marry earlier in the Philippines and immigration patterns which resulted in the presence of

many more males than females prior to the Second World War, females have tended to be considerably younger than males at the time of their first marriage. Some of the early male immigrants remained unmarried. Others met their wives while serving in the Philippines during the war or during trips to the Philippines after the war. For married individuals over the age of sixty, 30 percent were first married when they were past 40.

Household Composition

There are an average of 4.2 people per household with the vast majority of households housing 3, 4, or 5 members.

Table 4 - 10 Household Size

Number of Individuals	Frequency	Percent
1	33	8
2	84	20
3	80	19
4	85	20
5	62	15
6	35	8
7	14	3
8	13	3
9	7	2
10 or more	6	1
Total	419	100

The respondent was asked to identify the "head" of the household and to state the relationship of each household member to the head. This

information permits an identification of the household structure. The most common household consists of a nuclear family comprising a head of the household, his or her spouse, and their unmarried children. Some households contain a nuclear family, plus married children, and their spouses, their children; a nuclear family plus other relatives such as the parents or parents-in-law of the head; a nuclear family plus unrelated individuals such as friends or boarders. Other households contain a nuclear family plus some combination of other relatives and or boarders, and a few households consist of 2 to 5 unrelated individuals, usually either single people or individuals who preceded the rest of their family in coming to the country.

Table 4 - 11 Household Composition

	Number of Households	
	Frequency	Percent
Nuclear Family	302	72
Nuclear plus spouse of children	4	1
Nuclear plus other relatives	76	18
Nuclear plus unrelated	11	3
Nuclear plus combination of above	16	4
Composed entirely of unrelated individuals	10	3
Total	419	100

Most households contain one married pair consisting of a male and a female. A few households contain two, with the second pair usually involving a child from the first pair and his or her spouse.

Table 4 - 12 Number of Married Pairs in Each Household with Both Husband and Wife Present

	Frequency	Percent
One pair	263	96
Two pairs	9	3
Three pairs or more	2	1
Total	274	100

All individuals can be classified according to their relationship to the head of the household. For those households consisting entirely of unrelated individuals, either the eldest or the person in whose name the apartment is rented is considered the head of the household.

Table 4 - 13 Relationship to Head of the Household

	Frequency	Percent
Head	385	24
Spouse	305	19
Child	736	45
Child-in-law	18	1
Grandchild	23	1
Sibling	28	2
Sibling-in-law	23	1
Parent	18	1
Parent-in-law	33	0
Uncle or Aunt	6	1
Nephew or niece	12	1
Friend	31	2
Boarder	4	0
Cousin	5	0
Total	1,627	100

Religion

Given the long history of Spanish influence in the Philippines and their efforts at converting Filipinos to the Catholic church, it is not surprising that about 85 percent of all Filipinos in the Philippines are Catholics. An even higher percentage of the Filipinos in Mountain View are Catholics.

Table 4 - 14 Religion

	Frequency	Percent
Catholic	1451	90
Iglesia ni Kristo	41	3
Independent (Aglipayan)	43	3
Methodist	27	2
Jehovah's Witnesses	9	0
No religion	24	2
Disciples of Christ	3	0
Seventh Day Adventist	8	0
Baptist	2	0
Church of Christ	1	0
Presbyterian	2	0
Lutheran	2	0
Unspecified Protestant	8	0
Mormon	3	0
Bahi	1	0
Buddhist	1	0
Total	1,626	100

Both the Iglesia ni Kristo and the Philippine Independent Church are indigenous to the Philippines. The Iglesia ni Kristo is a strongly nationalistic, evangelical, conservative protestant type church that has one of its own churches in Redwood City, a community about 14 miles north of Mountain View. The Philippine Independent Church commonly known as the Aglipayan Church, has its origins in the Philippine revolt against the Spanish at the turn of this century. It views itself as upholding the true Catholic traditions and, in matters of theology, tends to be more conservative than the Catholic Church in the Philippines. In the Philippines the Aglipayan Church maintains ties and shares seminary facilities with the Episcopal church, but, in the absence of a local Aglipayan church, most of its members in this country worship at local Catholic churches.

Citizenship

Slightly less than half of the Filipinos in Mountain View are citizens of the United States. The rest are still citizens of the Philippines by virtue of birth, except for two Canadian citizens. More than 20 percent of Filipinos in Mountain View have acquired U.S. citizenship through naturalization.

Table 4 - 15 Citizenship

	Frequency	Percent
Philippines	830	51
United States		
Born in U.S.	366	23
Children of U.S. Citizens	95	6
Naturalized	336	21
Total	1,627	100

More than 35% of all Filipinos in Mountain View who are naturalized U.S. citizens became citizens since 1973. The largest number of Filipinos became U.S. citizens in 1977 (N=36) followed by 1974 (N=34).

Table 4 - 16 Naturalization Year

	Frequency	Percent
Before 1940	6	2
1940 - 1965	95	29
1966 - 1969	27	8
1970 - 1973	81	25
After 1973	119	36
Total	328	100

More than a third of those who acquired U.S. citizenship between 1940 and 1965 were naturalized during the World War II. Often naturalization both during and after the war was the consequence of service in the U.S. Armed Forces. Approximately 80 percent of those who immigrated before 1940 are naturalized U.S. citizens. Sixty five percent of those who immigrated between 1940 and 1965, 50 percent of those who immigrated between 1966 and 1969, and 15 percent of those who have immigrated since 1969 have chosen to become U.S. citizens.

Voter Registration

Among those who are 18 or older and are U.S. citizens, more than 50 percent registered to vote.

Table 4 - 17 Voter Registration--Filipinos in Mountain View, 18 Years Old or Older and U.S. Citizens

	Frequency	Percent
Registered to vote	223	56
Not registered to vote	173	44
Total	396	100

5. LANGUAGE

Language Experience in the Philippines

The Philippines is a multilingual society with over eighty indigenous languages. The Philippine languages belong to the Malayo-Polynesian/ Proto-Austronesian linguistic family which extends from Hawaii to Madagascar and from Formosa to Easter Island west of Chile. This area includes New Zealand, Tonga, and Samoa, as well as Borneo, Celebes, Java, Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and the Philippines. Presently, there are two official languages in the Philippines - Pilipino and English. Until recently, Spanish was recognized as a third official language. Both Pilipino and English are used as media of instruction in the schools under the present Bilingual Education policy. Pilipino is also the language used in social and political gatherings. In addition, there is a growing literary tradition in Pilipino.

In 1937 President Quezon issued a proclamation making Tagalog the basis for the national language, and in 1959 this national language was dubbed Pilipino. Tagalog is spoken in Metro Manila, the Philippines' primary city, and in the nearby province. Only about 25 percent of the population speak Tagalog as their mother tongue but 55 percent are identified as being able to speak Tagalog. Nevertheles, opposition to Tagalog or Pilipino continues.

Table 5 - 1 Percentage of Filipinos whose Mother Tongue is one of Eight of Major Languages*

Language	1960	1970
Cebu-Visayan/Cebuano	24	24.2
Tagalog	21	24.5
Iloko	12	11.3
Hiligaynon/West Visayas	10	10.2
Bikol	8	7
Samar-Leyte	6	5
Pampango	3	3
Pangasinan	2	2

*Based on the 1960 and 1970 Philippine Census.

Table 5 - 2 Percentage of Population Who Can Speak Pilipino, English and Spanish*

Year	Pilipino	English	Spanish
1939	23	27	3
1948	37	37	2
1960	44	40	2
1970	55	45	4

*Based on the Philippine Census

Historical background suggests that the Spaniards had no policy concerning the use of Tagalog in the Philippines. However, the strategic importance of Manila in the Spanish imperial scheme encouraged the slow growth of Tagalog even though from the Spanish era until well into the nineteen sixties, more people spoke Cebu-Visayan. In one of the earliest descriptions of the Philippines (written in 1604), Chirino noted that of

all the Philippine languages, Tagalog was the most satisfying and admirable because it had qualities from the finest languages in the world. Such admiration for Tagalog does not seem to have been widespread among the Spanish colonizers, and did not convert into a language policy. The Spaniards produced grammatical descriptions of Tagalog and other Filipino languages for use by friars learning the local languages but did not encourage the use of Tagalog as a medium of communication outside the Tagalog areas. In the Philippines, it is generally believed that Spanish never became a lingua franca because of friar opposition. The theory is that the friars feared that learning Spanish would spark liberal ideas of self-government among Filipinos, thereby threatening the church's influence and power. Today, apart from the many Spanish loanwords in Philippine languages and a few speakers of Spanish in the upper echelons of society (3.6 percent of the 1970 Philippine population), the linguistic legacy of Spain in the Philippines is limited to the existence of several communities that speak a Spanish creole language.

The American policy makers apparently favored a "one language" policy for the same reasons the Spanish friars opposed it. McKinley's instructions to the Philippine commission stated:

> It is especially important to the prosperity of the islands that a common medium of communications be established and it is obviously desirable that this medium should be the English language.

In 1919 English, already the medium of instruction, became the official language to be used in the local government and the legal system.

Filipino responses to the teaching of English were varied. Many Filipino intellectuals were staunchly pro-English, arguing for the practicality of English for international exchange and political integration.

Other Filipino intellectuals lobbied for the official use of an indigenous language as early as 1901. Jorge Bocobo argued that:

> No foreign language, be it Spanish or English, or any other can be the genuine vehicle of our innermost thoughts, our most intimate feelings. No foreign language can be the expression of our national soul.

The need for an indigenous national language has been closely linked with the quest for a national identity, begun during the Spanish period, and subsequently pursued during the American period. Philippine President Quezon recognized the necessity and desirability of an indigenous national language as a vital ingredient of nationhood.

> It is therefore, advisable to strengthen the true ties of national solidarity, and in my opinion a common language based on one of the native dialects and used by our people is one of these bonds.

The use of Philippine languages in the schools was explicitly forbidden until 1939, the official public policy was to allow the local language to be used whenever public school teachers found a pupil or class unable to understand the question, direction, or explanation. The Board of National Education implemented a Revised Educational Program in 1957 which called for the use of the language indigenous to the local geographic area as medium of instruction in Grades 1 and 2, the teaching of English as a subject, and the use of English as the medium of instruction from Grade 3 to college. Most public schools took practical steps towards the implementation of this policy. However, most private schools continued to use the local language for educating the child in the first two grades was theoretically based on Aguilar's (1948-1957) Iloilo Language Experiment One. This experiment suggested that initial instruction in the local language contributed to the subsequent learning of the curriculum in English. Given the methodological problems of Aguilar's research, the inadequacy

of instructional materials in the local languages, and the inadequacy of teacher preparation, the adoption of the policy may have been a premature decision. Not until 1967-68 were books in twelve Philippine languages printed for use in the schools - Cebuano. Tagalog, Ilokano, Hiligaynon, Bikol, Waray, Pampango, Pangasinan, Magindanaw, Tausog, Ibanag, and Samal (listed in the order of number of speakers, from the most to the least). Almost at the same time the books in these languages reached the classrooms, official language policy in the Philippines shifted once more. The new policy in 1967 replaced the use of the local language with Tagalog as the medium of instruction in Grades 1 and 2. Language policy changed again in 1974 with the "Bilingual Education Act." This act called for the use of Tagalog as the medium of instruction in social studies, character education, work education, health, and physical education and the use of English in the other courses. This policy becomes mandatory in 1978-1979.

Language Use in the Philippines

Shifts in national language policy since nineteen hundred have been instrumental in bringing about the present language situation in the Philippines. The use of both English and Tagalog has expanded. The number of people identified as being able to speak English has increased from close to zero in 1900 to 26.6 percent in 1939 to 44.7 percent in 1970. The number of people identified as able to speak Tagalog has increased from 23.4 percent in 1939 to 55.2 percent in 1970.

Language choice depends on many factors, among them, the subjects, the time, the settings, and the functions. All these factors are invariably tied to the status of English and Tagalog. Tagalog and English in peer

relationships, Tagalog for below-peer relationships. Differences in language use are most marked between subjects with high socio-economic status. The high socio-economic subjects tend to use more English whether they are speaking, reading, or writing, It appears that Tagalog is the language of intimacy, solidarity, and nationalism, while English is the language of formality, official communications, and education and power on the national scene. Although Tagalog has gained more speakers, and is used in more settings than before, it still lacks the status of English. (Beebe and Beebe, in process).

Language Use in the United States

Respondents were asked about the languages individuals used when growing up, the language they currently use most often at home, and all of the other languages they can speak. The ability to speak a language was defined as being able to carry on a conversation in that language. No behavioral measures of language ability were used and the capacity to carry on a conversation may mean very different things to different people.

Language While Growing Up and Presently Used at Home

Thirty three percent of all individuals in this study are identified as having grown up speaking Ilocano. Ilokanos (the same name applies to the ethnic group) originally occupied a narrow band of land between the mountains and the South China sea on the upper western coast of the island of Luzon. Beginning at least one hundred years ago, population pressures on limited land resulted in the large scale migration of Ilokanos to other places in the Philippines. Ilokanos were among the first Filipinos to immigrate to the U.S. Even though they comprise only about 11 percent

of the Philippine population, their presence in large numbers in this country is compatible with their image in the Philippine as "hard working adventurers". The second most common language used while growing up was English (27 percent was split among thirteen other languages. English is the language reported as most frequently used at home (42 percent), followed by Tagalog (25 percent), and Ilokano 24 percent). The remaining 9 percent used one of seven different Filipino languages at home.

Table 5.3 Language Used While Growing Up and Language Presently Used At Home

	Growing Up		Presently Used at Home	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
None*	32	3	40	3
English	439	27	678	42
Spanish	10	10	0	0
Tagalog	383	24	414	25
Ilokano	532	33	396	24
Cebuano	56	3	25	2
Ilonggo	23	1	7	0
Kapampangan	37	2	18	1
Pangasinan	44	3	25	2
Waray	8	1	0	0
Bicol	7	0	0	0
Ibanag	1	0	0	0
Bolinao	19	1	10	0
Zambal	10	1	4	0
Kinarai-a	8	1	8	1

Hawaiian-English	2	0	0	0
Gaddang	2	0	0	0
Chabacano	4	0	0	0
Total	1629	100	1627	100

* children too young to speak a language

One might expect people to use at home the language they grew up speaking. Also, since so many of the Filipinos in Mountain View are still quite young, for these respondents, the language presently spoken at home is probably the same as the language used while growing up. Given all this, it is surprising to find that almost 30 percent of all individuals in Mountain View speak a language at home different from the one they used when growing up.

Table 5-4 Language While Growing Up Compared to Language Presently Used At Home

Language While Growing Up	None		English		Tagalog		Ilocano		Cebuano		Kapampangan		Pangasinan		Others		TOTAL	
	F	Percent	F	Percent	F	Percent	F	Percent	F	Percent	F	Percent	F	Percent	F	Percent	F	Percent
None	40	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	3
English	0	0	422	62	10	2	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	438	27
Tagalog	0	0	101	15	269	65	11	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	383	24
Ilocano	0	0	92	14	61	15	371	93	0	0	0	0	7	28	1	0	532	33
Cebuano	0	0	12	2	20	5	1	0	23	92	0	0	0	0	0	0	56	3
Kapampangan	0	0	2	0	17	4	0	0	0	0	18	100	0	0	0	0	37	2
Pangasinan	0	0	13	2	8	2	5	1	0	0	0	0	18	72	0	0	44	3
Others	0	0	36	5	28	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28	96	94	6
TOTAL	40	100	678	100	413	100	396	100	25	92	18	100	25	100	29	96	1624	100

Ninety five percent of individuals reported having grown up speaking English speak English at home. Approximately, 64 percent of those who grew up speaking Tagalog are presently using Tagalog at home, while 26 percent now use English and 3 percent Ilocano. Approximately 70 percent of those who grew up speaking Ilocano are presently using Ilocano at home, while 17 percent are using English and 12 percent Tagalog. Only 30 percent of those who grew up speaking other Filipino languages are still using these languages at home. Some 30 percent of these individuals now use Tagalog at home and about 39 percent now speak English. It would appear that individuals who grew up speaking English are likely to speak Tagalog with some shifting to English. Individuals who grew up speaking Ilokano tend to continue to speak Ilocano at home with some shifting to Tagalog or English. People who grew up in language groups with few speakers in the community were almost as likely to use Tagalog at home as the language used while growing up. Among those who no longer use the language they grew up speaking, almost an many now use Tagalog at home as those who use English.

Other Languages

In addition to the languages a person grew up speaking and now uses at home, respondents were asked what other languages each member of the household could speak. The goal was to identify all of the different languages a person can speak.

When the different languages people grew up speaking, languages used at home and other languages spoken are combined, 95 percent of the individuals are identified as being able to speak English, followed by Tagalog (64 percent), and Ilocano (40 percent). While Cebu-Visayan has traditionally been the largest language group in the Philippines, only 6 percent of the Filipinos in Mountain View can speak it. Even though more people have grown up speaking Ilocano than Tagalog, more use Tagalog at home than Ilocano and almost 50 percent more people can speak Tagalog than can speak Ilocano. While English is the language spoken by 37 percent while growing up, it is the language used by 42 percent at home, and 96 percent of the individuals in the Mountain View study are identified as being able to carry on a conversation in English.

Only about one quarter of all Filipinos in this study born in this country could speak a Filipino language.

Table 5-6 All Languages Spoken By Filipinos Born in the United States

	Frequency	Percent
None	43	10
English	341	90
Spanish	13	3
Other European	3	1
Tagalog	42	11
Ilocano	37	10
Cebuano	6	2
Pangasinan	1	0
Hawaiian-English	2	0
Total	488	127

Table 5-5 All Languages Spoken by Filipinos in Mountain View

	Frequency	Percent
English	1547	95
Spanish	62	4
Other European	9	1
Other Asian	6	0
Tagalog	1044	64
Ilocano	657	40
Chabacano	10	1
Cebuano	90	6
Ilongo	32	2
Kapampangan	54	3
Pangasinan	101	6
Waray	14	1
Bicol	13	1
Ibanag	8	1
Bolinao	20	1
Zambal	14	1
Kinarai-a	9	1
Itawis	1	0
Gaddang	3	0
Hawaiian English	2	0
Total	3696	228

*Percentage of individuals identified as being able to speak each language. Since most individuals speak more than one language, total percent is greater than 100.

Language Use In Situations Where Options Are Present

This study provides two indicators of language use in situations where options are present. The interviewers introduced themselves in Tagalog (Appendix E) and presented the respondent with a letter written in both English and Tagalog (Appendix F). Respondents were informed in Tagalog that identical questionnaires were available in English and Tagalog and were asked which one they preferred. In a few cases the respondent insisted that it did not matter and in these cases, the interviewers chose Tagalog. This contrasts sharply with a study on fertility attitudes among Filipinos in the San Francisco Bay Area. When asked by a Filipino interviewer in English, which language they would prefer to be interviewed in, 95 percent of this sample chose English (Card 1978). In both studies a few of the respondents who chose English are reported as having trouble either understanding or responding to some questions.

A second aspect of language use in this country revealed by the study is that 39 percent of all individuals watch a local Filipino TV program every Sunday afternoon, and another 25 percent watch it one or more times a month. Language used on this variety program switches from English to Tagalog and back fairly regularly but about 60 to 80 percent of the language is Tagalog. English is usually resorted to when the guest on the program does not speak Tagalog, or when introductory remarks are made to the studio audience.

Twenty-four percent of those watching the TV program every week are also identified as not being able to carry on a conversation in Tagalog, suggesting that the number of Filipinos in Mountain View who can understand Tagalog may be considerably larger than those reported as able to speak it.

While Tagalog dominates the broadcast media directed at Filipinos living in the Bay Area, English is used almost exclusively in the several Filipino newspapers in the U.S. It is interesting to note that only 14 percent of the Filipino households in Mountain View have subscriptions to Filipino newspapers.

6. The Filipinos As Immigrants

An experience shared by some 77 percent of the Filipinos in Mountain View and one that has had a tremendous impact on their present status, is that they were born in the Philippines and immigrated to the United States. While many of the early immigrants came alone as single young men, recent immigrants have tended to come as families, with one member of the family often coming in advance and the rest of the family following within a year of so.

Reason for Immigrating

Each respondent was asked why he or she had come to the United States and why every other member of the household had immigrated. When household members were under 15 years of age, it was assumed that they had accompanied their family. Since the respondent was asked about other members of the household, the reason given might more accurately represent the respondent's perception of why other members immigrated rather than the other members' own views. In some cases, respondents provided the same answer for all members of the household while in other cases, they carefully differentiated between the reasons for different family members.

Table 6-1 takes into account the possibility that respondents may have projected their views onto other household members by isolating their replies from the reasons given for all household members (respondents included). Another way of examining the motivations for immigration, while controlling for the reasons given for other household members, is

to focus on how the respondents explained the immigration of the household heads.

Table 6-1 Reasons Immigrated for all Household Members, the Respondents, and the Household Heads

Reason	All Household Members		Respondents		Household Heads	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Accompanied Family	753	60	190	49	79	22
Work/better future	268	22	94	24	169	46
Called for	88	7	32	8	45	12
adventure	37	3	25	6	22	6
Study	32	3	10	3	14	4
Visit	16	1	9	2	5	1
Citizen	18	1	7	2	4	1
Exchange	4	0	4	1	0	0
Prearranged employ	5	0	4	1	3	1
Military	19	2	9	2	18	5
Other	8	1	5	1	5	1
TOTAL	1248	100	389	100	364	100

The reason most frequently given for all household members is that they accompanied another family member or were joining relatives already here. The third most frequent reason, "called for," somewhat overlaps with the first group because it usually refers to one's entering the country because a close relative here had filed a petition with the U.S. Immigration Service. To seek work and/or a better future was the reason given for 22 percent of all immigrants. Respondents often used the English term "greener pastures" to describe why members of the household had come.

Very few individuals are said to have immigrated because of prearranged employment or of exchange programs designed to give professionals, especially in the medical field experience in this country. Despite the fact that 79 individuals joined the U.S. military in the Philippines, only 19 individuals are identified as immigrating because of military service. Service in the military may have been perceived as "better job" or as paving the way for better jobs, and thus work for a better future may be seen as the reason for immigrating.

Since education has traditionally been associated with upward mobility, it is interesting to note how infrequently "study" was cited as the reason for immigrating. The relatively small number who gave this reason may be explained by the fact that many of the immigrants had already completed their education in the Philippines (28 percent with 4 years of college or more and another 14 percent with at least a high school diploma) and those many of who had not finished their education were children who accompanied other family members. Very few of the individuals about whom information was collected originally came to the United States on student visas and then decided to remain in this country. Individuals born in Philippines with a U.S. citizen parent sometimes gave their citizenship status as the reason for their immigrating.

The rank order of reasons for immigrating for the household heads from that for all individuals with almost half coming to find work and/or a better future. Accompanying one's family was second, and the rank order of the other reasons remains the same, although the percentages of those coming for adventure or to study are slightly higher.

The open-ended answers given by the respondents suggest that there are three factors underlying much of the immigration of Filipinos to

this country. First, partly as a result of America's colonial and neO-colonial economic policies, conditions in the Philippines have been poor, with trememdous inequalites in access to the natural wealth of the country. Some respondents said that because of conditions in the Philippines, their hard work went unrewarded. Second, U.S. government policies have encouraged the influx of people with specific skills or worker characteristics needed by the U.S. economy. When farm labor was needed, not only were farm laborers allowed in; sometimes they were even recruited by U.S. firms. A similar phenomenon occurred during the booming economy of the late nineteen sixties, when professionals were urged to come and in some cases recruited.

A third factor behind immigration to this country has been Filipinos' image of this country as a place with "greener pastures." Such American-controlled and/or influenced institutions as the educational system and the media, especially the movies, have helped shaped this image.

Year Immigrated

The earliest Filipino immigrants living in Mountain View arrived in the U.S. in 1916. There has been a steady upswing in the number of Filipino immigrants from the period before 1940 through the present. Eighty-three percent of the Filipino immigrants living in Mountain View arrived in the United States after 1965.

Table 6-2 Year Immigrated

	Frequency	Percent
Before 1940	67	5
1940-1965	141	11
1966-1969	235	19
1970-1973	345	28
After 1973	451	36
TOTAL	1239	100

Changes in Reasons for Immigrating Over Time

Since respondents could best identify their own reasons for immigrating, this data may be most valid and reliable. When respondents are divided into groups based on when they immigrated and their reasons for the immigration are compared, several shifts are apparent. Since there were no differences in the reasons given for the three categories of immigrants after 1966, these groups were combined.

Table 6-3 Reason for Immigration of Respondents by the Year they Immigrated

	Before 1940		1940-1965		1966-Present		Row Totals	
	F	Percent	F	Percent	F	Precent	F	Percent
Accompanied Family	5	8	72	51	670	65	747	61
Work/better future	39	59	34	24	187	18	260	21
Called for	1	2	8	6	79	8	88	7
Adventure	8	12	4	3	24	2	36	3
Study	11	17	8	6	13	1	32	3
Military	1	2	8	6	10	1	19	2
Citizen	0	0	1	1	17	2	18	2
Visit	0	0	3	2	13	1	16	1
Other	1	2	0	0	7	1	8	1
Total	66	100	141	100	1026	100	1233	100

The results reported in Table 6-3 suggest that immigrants before 1940 were motivated by the prospects of employment, adventure, and studies more than were subsequent immigrants. Later immigrants are more likely to have accompanied other family members or to have been "called for" than were the earliest immigrants. These shifts reflect to some extent changes in the conditions in this country and in the people who were

attracted to and allowed into this country. Early immigrants were often younger, single men with minimal schooling, some of whom came for adventure and with dreams of studying and making a lot of money before returning to the Philippines. Later immigrants often have more schooling and have come as families or to join relatives and/or friends already in this country.

Employment Status Before Immigrating

More than a third of the Filipino immigrants were employed immediately before they left the Philippines; a handful had jobs but were temporarily away from their jobs; and a few were uneemployed. Almost half were either students or too young to go to school. Ten percent were "keeping house."

Tabel 6-4 Philippine Employment Status Before Immigrating to the United States

	Frequency	Percent
Employed	447	36
With a job	12	1
Unemployed	49	4
Retired/too old	11	1
Student	424	34
Too young	172	14
Keeping house	126	10
TOTAL	1241	100

Occupation before Immigrating

The types of jobs held by the immigrants in the Philippines before

they came were concentrated on either end of a spectrum that goes from semi-skilled and unskilled to professional.

Table 6-5 Philippine Occupations Held by Employed Immigrants

	Frequency	Percent
Professional	174	39
Managerial	22	5
Clerical-Sales	97	22
Skilled	41	9
Semi-Skilled & Unskilled	113	25
TOTAL	447	100

Of those who were employed before migrating to this country, 39 percent were professionals such as accountants, engineers, and teachers and 25 percent were in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations such as farm labor and dressmaking. A look at specific occupations reveals that 17 percent (n=75) were employed as teachers, with 11 percent at the college level. Ten percent (n=45) were in the health field with 5 percent employed as registered nurses and another 5 percent employed as health practitioners, veterinarians, dentists, pharmacists, health and lab technicians, therapy assistants and nurses' aides. Thirteen percent (n=58) worked in agriculture-related jobs with 6 percent tenant farmers, 6 percent farmers who owned the land they farmed, and 1 percent farm laborers. In sharp contrast to the types of jobs held in this country, a bare 1 percent were assemblers , inspectors, or similar factory-type workers and only 2 percent worked as cooks in private household, housekeepers, maids, or laundry workers.

Types of Schools Attended in the Philippines

Given the status hierarchy of schools in the Philippines, the last Philippine school attended indicates the immigrants' socio-economic status before immigration. The last school attended should not, however, be equated with final educational attainments.

Table 6-6 Type of School Last Attended in the Philippines before Immigrating to the United States

	Frequency	Percent
None	62	6
Public elementary	188	17
Private elementary	54	5
Public secondary	167	16
Private secondary	75	7
Public provincial college	26	2
Private provincial college	141	13
Public Manila college	21	2
Private Manila college	264	25
Private Manila college-church related	17	2
Private accredited	36	3
University of the Philippines	27	3
TOTAL	1078	100

The University of the Philippines and the private universities with internationally-recognized accreditation (Ateneo, De La Salle, the University of Santo Tomas, and Silliman University) are schools with high academic standards that have traditionally attracted students from families with high socio-economic status. In general, the Manila private church-related schools are relatively expensive and also tend to attract

Table 6-7 Highest Grade Completed in the Philippines

	Frequency	Percent
No schooling	90	8
Less than complete elementary	166	15
Elementary graduate	86	8
Less than 4 years high school	117	11
High school graduate	149	14
Less than 4 years college	178	16
4-year college graduate	214	20
Graduate work, M.A., 5-year courses	97	9
TOTAL	1097	100

Close to 60 percent of the Filipino immigrants in Mountain View finished high school and almost 30 percent had a 4-year college degree or more before they immigrated.

Over time, the educational background of Filipino immigrants has changed, with the percentage of those with higher education increasing.

Table 6-8 Highest Grade Completed by Year Immigrated

	Before '40		1940-65		Since '65		Row Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
No schooling	1	2	5	4	83	9	89	8
Less than complete elementary	23	40	15	11	128	14	166	15
Elementary graduate	17	30	10	8	58	7	85	8
Less than 4 years high school	12	21	13	10	89	10	114	11
High school graduate	3	5	23	17	121	14	147	14
Less than 4 years college	1	2	39	29	138	15	178	16
4-year college graduate	0	0	23	17	188	21	211	19
Graduate work, M.S., M.A., 5-year courses	0	0	6	5	89	10	95	9
TOTAL	57	100	134	100	894	100	1085	100

students from high socio-economic status backgrounds. Eight percent of the Filipinos in Mountain View are reported to have attended schools in these 3 groups—University of the Philippines, private accredited, and private church-related. Largely in response to the desire of parents to send their children to college and in the absence of many public-run colleges and universities, a system of privately-owned, often profit-making, colleges and universities has developed. While a few of the schools in this category have high academic standards, some do not. Twenty-five percent of the Filipino immigrants in Mountain View last attended one of these schools. Some public provincial colleges, such as Mindanao State University and private privincial colleges, such as St. Louis University and San Carlos University, have outstanding reputations, but provincial schools are generally considered less prestigious than Manila schools. Fifteen percent of the immigrants last attended schools in this category. At the elementary and secondary levels, attendance at private schools generally connotes higher socio-economic status than attendance at public schools.

Educational Attainment in the Philippines

Respondents were asked to indicate the highest grade or year of schooling each household member had completed in the Philippines. Since some individuals studied further in the United States (see Chapter 7), this is not a gauge of their highest educational attainment.

Since many of the recent immgrants came as children and have continued to study in this country, figures for individuals with less than a high school education are difficult to interpret. However, it is evident that at the time they entered, more recent immigrants have had more years of schooling than did the earliest immigrants.

Highest Degress Obtained Whether in the United States or in the Philippines

Since some immigrants completed additional schooling after arrival here, their highest degree, whether obtained in the United States or in the Philippines, provides a better indicator of their education than the data about previous education in the Philippines. Persons still in school are excluded from the tables below. Otherwise, large numbers of individuals would be classified among those with low educational attainment when, in fact, they are current students.

Table 6-9 Highest Degree Obtained by Immigrants Who Are No Longer Studying and Are Not Too Young to Go to School

	Frequency	Percent
No schooling, less than elem.	105	12
Elementary graduate	133	15
High School	316	35
2-year college degree	53	6
4-year college degree	282	31
Masters	16	2
Professional (M.D., Ll.B., D.Dm) & Doctoral	8	1
TOTAL	319	100

A comparison of the highest degree attained by the year of immigration shows that a larger percent of immigrants between 1940 and 1965 finished higher degrees than immigrants either before or after this date.

Table 6-10 Highest degree obtained by year of immigration for immigrants who are no longer studying and are not too young to go to school

	Before 1940		1940-1965		Since 1965		Row Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
No schooling and less than elem.	30	47	12	9	275	27	317	26
Elementary graduate	22	34	16	12	164	16	202	17
High School graduate	10	16	55	40	273	27	338	28
2-year college graduate	0	0	22	16	33	3	55	5
4-year college graduate	1	2	33	24	248	25	282	23
Master's	1	2	1	1	15	2	17	1
Professional (M.D., Ll.B., D.Dm.) and Doctoral	0	0	0	0	9	1	9	1
TOTAL	64	100	139	100	1017	100	1220	100

Last Residence in the Philippines Before Immigration

Respondents were asked where in the Philippines they and other members of the household had lived before coming to hte United States. A comparison of birth places and last place lived in the Philippines provides an indication of migration within the Philippines prior to immigration and suggests that migration was limited and generally within small geographical areas, such as adjoining provinces. If the last residence in the Philippines are placed into two categories--Manila

and the provinces—the immigrant's urban, large-city experience emerges. It should be noted that there are very urban and even some moderately large cities outside the Manila area, but the Manila area provides more opportunities for experiences relevant to living in America than anywhere else in the Philippines.

Table 6-11 Last residence in the Philippines before immigrating to the United States

	Frequency	Percent
Manila (including Quezon City, Caloocan, Pasay)	381	31
Provinces	861	69

Majority of Filipino immigrants were born in the provinces and were living in the provinces immediately before immigrating. Only 5 percent of immigrants before 1940 were living in the Manila area immediately before immigrating. Some of the more recent immigrants who were born in the provinces and lived there immediately before immigrating had their higher education at schools in the Manila area. These figures suggest that the notion that immigrants are likely to move first to the capital or primary city of their own country before migrating abroad does not accurately depict the situation of the Filipino immigrants.

First Residence in the United States After Immigration

Close to 40 percent of Filipino immigrants came straight to Mountain View after arriving in this country. An additional 15 percent first resided elsewhere in Santa Clara County before moving to Mountain View.

Table 6-12 First Residence in the United States After Immigrating

	Frequency	Percent	Cummulative Percent
Mountain View	472	38	38
Other place in Santa Clara county	183	15	53
San Francisco	115	9	62
San Mateo County	34	3	65
Other places in the Bay Area	73	6	71
Other places in Northern CA	72	6	77
Southern California	101	8	85
Other States	199	16	101

While 47 percent of Filipinos living in Mountain View first lived elsewhere in California, a surprising 16 percent first lived in other places. Among the most common were Hawaii (n=49, 4 percent), Guam (n=33, 3 percent), Washington (n=16, 1 percent), and Virginia (n=14, 1 percent).

Year Moved to Mountain View

Questions about when individuals moved to Mountain View and their reasons should probably have been asked of everyone, but were asked only of immigrants. Although Filipinos have been present in Mountain View since the nineteen twenties, almost 80 percent of the Filipino immigrants have arrived since 1970.

Table 6-13 Year Moved to Mountain View

	Frequency	Percent
Before 1940	19	2
1940-1965	78	7
1966-1969	147	12
1970-1973	257	21
After 1973	743	58
TOTAL	1244	100

The research staff's initial efforts to locate all Filipinos in Mountain View had resulted in a list of 1023 names. When these names were investigated, only 419 turned out to have valid addresses in Mountain View, and 313 names could not be located at the addresses given. This would seem to suggest that the Filipino community in Mountain View is a highly mobile group. In many of the cases where the present occupant knew where the former Filipino occupant was, the Filipino had moved to nearby communities such as Sunnyvale, Santa clara, and San Jose.

Reasons for Choosing Mountain View

The reasons given for household members' choice of Mountain View parallels the reasons given for coming to the United States. Again the assumption was made that those under 15 accompanied other family members.

Table 6-14 Reasons for Choosing Mountain View

	Frequency	Percent
Accompanied family	666	53
Work	298	24
Relatives	142	11
Friends	19	2
Escape some other city	11	1
Weather	12	1
Housing	90	7
Schools	13	1
TOTAL	1251	100

The availability of work, especially in the electronics industry, was the primary inducement to live in Mountain View for 24 percent of the Filipino immigrants. The presence of relatives influenced the decision of more than 10 percent. Some of those who chose Mountain View primarily for employment also had relatives already living here who had informed them of the area's work opportunities. Some of those for whom housing was the reason explained that when they originally came to Mountain View, it was not too expensive to buy a house, especially relative to some of the surrounding communities.

7. EDUCATION

The Philippine educational system is based on the American system; it was established and, for nearly 50 years, run by Americans. Following some initial resistance, Filipinos came to view education as a means of upward social mobility. The fact that people came to believe in the schools and the presence of governmental officials who viewed schooling as a means to development, resulted in the establishment of a nation-wide public elementary system that presently reaches almost all school age Filipino children. At the secondary level many schools are private. It is estimated that less than 60 percent of those who finish elementary school enroll in high school. The need for higher education, and the limited efforts of the government in this area, have resulted in an uneven system of colleges and universities which range from excellent schools with international reputations to schools that are little more than diploma mills.

Filipino parents have traditionally been willing to make tremendous financial sacrifices in order to educate their children. This belief in the value of schooling which is very strong in the Philippines, is apparently a tenet that carries over to Filipinos in this country. Alfredo Munoz (1971:153) claims that Filipino-Americans are "best in the classroom. Whether in public or private schools, the youth seem to be there. It is with them, in fact, that the promise of getting to the very top holds great expectations." However, results from this study suggest that the Filipinos belief in the value of schooling is not always translated into action in this country.

Present School Status

More than 65 percent of the entire Filipino population in Mountain View are not enrolled in school while 30 percent study fulltime and the remaining 4 percent are part-time students.

Table 7-1 School Status

School Status	Frequency	Percent
Full-time	480	29
Part-time	61	4
No	1086	67
TOTAL	1627	100

Twelve (12 percent) of the full-time students are also employed full-time, and thus the number of full-time students is larger than the category of students when the population is broken down as employed, unemployed, housewives, students, etc. For persons age 6 to 16, almost one hundred percent are full-time students, while only 77 percent (35 of 45) of the 17 and 18 year olds are enrolled as full-time students. Of those students presently enrolled in school, 15 percent (n=81) attend private school. About three-fourths of the Filipinos attending private schools are aged 9 to 15. This raises an interesting question of whether some Filipinos choose to send their children to private school out of dissatisfaction with the public schools or because private schools offer something lacking in the public schools at these grade levels.

Table 7.2 Present School Attendance and Type of School by School Age

Age Group	Not in School		Public		Private		Total	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
1-3	89	62	3	1	3	5	95	15
4-6	20	14	72	18	10	15	102	17
7-9	1	1	77	19	9	13	87	14
10-12	2	1	85	21	22	33	109	18
13-15	0	0	86	21	15	22	101	16
16-18	5	3	62	15	6	9	73	12
19-20	26	18	20	5	2	3	48	8
TOTAL	143	100	405	100	67	100	615	100

School Attendance in the United States for Immigrants who were Students Before they Left the Philippines

Similarities in the two school systems and the widespread use of English as the medium of instruction in the Philippines whould seem to facilitate a transition from Philippine to American schools. The availability of public, relatively inexpensive, secondary and college education would also seemingly allow someone who had been a student immediately before immigrating to finish his or her education in this country. For the purpose of this analysis only those cases where the individual was a student in the Philippines immediately before immigrating but is not one in the United States, are examined. It is assumed that since these individuals are no longer students their highest grade in this country represents their stopping point. Some of these individuals

are part-time students and undoubtadly, a few others will return to school at some later date;but figures represent their highest educational attainment for now.

Table 7.3 Highest Grade Completed in the Philippines Before Immigration and Highest Grade Completed in the United States by Individuals Who Were Students Before Immigrating and Are No Longer Full-Time Students in the United States

Highest Grade completed in the Philippines	Highest Grade Completed in the United States: No additional Schooling		Less than H.S. diploma		H.S.diploma but less than 4 year college		4 year college		Total	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent	F.	Percent
Less than High School	42	21	13	93	33	62	6	60	94	34
High School but less than 4 years college	112	57	1	7	17	32	3	30	113	49
4 yr. college or more	43	22	0	0	3	16	1	10	47	47
TOTAL	197	100	14	100	53	100	10	100	274	100

Of the 274 respondents who were students immediately before immigrating, 94 or 34 percent did not finish high school in the Philippines. A little less than one-half, 49 percent, graduated from high school, and only 47 or 17 percent have college degrees. Many of the 94 students who did not finish high school in the Philippines either failed to enroll once they arrived in the United States or did not finish an entire year. Forty two (44 percent) have no additional schooling, and another 13 (14 percent) started but did not complete high school. Thirty-nine (42 percent) earned a high school diploma, and only 10 (26 percent)

Table 7.4 Highest Degree by Place of Birth for Filipinos Who Are Neither Students nor Too Young to Go to School

	Philippines		United States		Total	
	Freq. of Phil. born	Percent	Freq. of U.S. born	Percent	Freq.	Percent
Less than Elem.	105	11	4	7	109	11
Elementary	133	15	7	12	140	14
High School	316	35	32	56	348	36
Associate or ETC	53	6	3	5	56	6
4 yr. College	282	31	11	19	293	30
Masters degree	16	2	0	0	16	2
Professionals-- Law, Medicine, etc	8	1	0	0	8	0
TOTAL	913	100	57	100	970	100

For the entire adult population of Filipinos in Mountain View, 25 percent have less than a high school education, 36 percent have completed a high school diploma, 6 percent have finished a 2-year college degree, and 32 percent have completed a 4-year college degree or higher. The percentage of Filipinos born in this country who have a high school diploma or less is 75 percent versus 61 percent for Filipinos born in the Philippines. While 34 percent of Philippine-born Filipinos have 4-year college degrees or higher, only 19 percent of American-born Filipinos have 4-year college degrees. The American born Filipinos are more likely to stop their education at the high school level than Philippine-born Filipinos, and much less likely to finish a 4-year college degree.

earned college degrees in this country. A great majority of those who finished high school did not pursue further schooling, as more than 85 percent of the 133 high school graduates either never enrolled or did not complete a full year in college or university. Seventeen (13 percent) spent some time in college but did not get their degrees. Only 3 (2 percent) managed to get a four-year college degree. It is not surprising that 43 of 47 persons who had college degrees did not finish further education in this country. The data suggests that many young Filipinos who have not completed their education in the Philippines before they immigrated may face conditions in this country that prevent them from graduating from college and in some cases even from high school.

Overall Educational Attainment

Filipinos who were students in the Philippines immediately before immigrating comprise only about 27 percent of the total Filipino population in Mountain View who are not presently studying or too young to go to school. The terminal educational attainment of the entire Filipino community in Mountain View is indicated by the highest degree completed by everyone who is neither a student nor too young to go to school. The assumption is that their highest degree represents the average educational attainment of the adult community and that these figures probably represent the highest attainment likely to be reached by these individuals.

Types of College Degrees

The most common post-secondary degrees earned by Filipinos in Mountian View are in professional educaiton, with many individuals trained to be elementary and secondary teachers. A sizeable number of people also possess commerce, or business and nursing.

Table 7.5 Highest Degree Complete For Filipinos Who Have Completed High School

	Frequency	Percent
Two-Year College Degree		
Associate (Community College)	47	12
Elementary Teaching Certificate	11	3
Four-Year College Degrees		
Bachelor (Not elsewhere classified)	27	7
Education	74	19
Engineering	26	7
Nursing	39	10
Business	76	20
Medical-related	25	7
Language Arts	7	2
Social Sciences	8	2
Physical Sciences	7	2
Agriculture	11	3
Master-level degrees		
Master Not Elsewhere Classified	2	0
Education - M	6	2
Engineering	2	1

Nursing - M	1	0
Social Sciences	4	1
Professional and/or Doctoral Level Degrees		
Law	3	1
Dentistry	5	1
Ph.D.	1	0

Vocational Courses

In addition to their formal education, about 20 percent of the Filipinos in Mountain View have completed generally short vocational or personal enrichment courses.

Table 7.6 Number of Vocational Courses Attended

	Frequency	Percent
1	229	73
2	54	17
3	17	5
4	6	2
5 or more	8	3
TOTAL	314	100

Each respondent was asked detailed information about what he had identified as the two most important courses taken by each household member. Thirty-four different courses were attended, with courses in electronic assembly completed by more than 35 percent of those who had finished a vocational course.

H. Definition of Housing Unit

As in counting the resident population, there are certain rules to be followed in identifying and counting housing units. A housing unit is a group of rooms or a single room occupied as separate living quarters or, if vacant, intended for occupancy as separate living quarters. A housing unit can be occupied by a family, a family and unrelated persons living together, a group of unrelated persons living together, or by one person. It may be vacant.

7.21 Rules for identifying housing units.--A room, or a group of rooms, must meet the following requirements to qualify as a housing unit:

(1) Separateness. The occupants or intended occupants must live and eat separately from everyone else in the building (or apartment).

(2) If this requirement is met, then the room or rooms must have either:

(a) Direct access from the outside of the building or through a common hall, or

(b) Complete kitchen facilities for their household only.

7.22 Definitions of terms.--Separateness is determined when there is a "Yes" answer to the question "Do you live and eat separately from everyone else in this building (or apartment)?" for the persons in question. Direct access means:

(1) Direct access from the outside: A direct entrance to the housing unit from the outdoors, such as, a street, road, alley, courtyard, driveway, path, etc.

(2) Direct access through a common hall: An entrance to the housing unit from a hall, lobby, or vestibule which is usually used by the occupants of more than one unit or by the general public. The hall, lobby, or vestibule is not part of any housing unit but is clearly separate from all units in the structure.

Complete kitchen facilities. A unit has complete kitchen facilities when it has all three of the following:

(1) An installed sink with piped water; and

(2) a range or cook stove; and

(3) a mechanical refrigerator.

All kitchen facilities must be located in the building. They need not be in the same room. Do not count portable cooking equipment as a range or stove; or, an ice box as a mechanical refrigerator.

For this household only. Kitchen facilities are For this household only when they are used only by occupants of one housing unit. If equipment is used by lodgers or other persons living in the housing unit, it is still For this household only, provided that it is not also used by

occupants of another housing unit. When a building consists of only one housing unit, all equipment located inside the building is For this household only.

7.23 Examples of housing units.--The great majority of living quarters in the United States are easily recognized as housing units. These are: single-family homes, apartments, and flats. A two-family home usually contains two housing units. A mobile home or trailer that is the occupant's usual place of residence is a housing unit.

Housing units may also be found in unusual or unexpected places. For example, there may be a living quarters in the penthouse of an office building, living quarters for a watchman in a factory, or a family's living quarters behind their store. Also, railroad cars, houseboats, caves, tents, etc., are housing units if they are occupied as usual residences.

Some buildings, through alteration or change in usage, may contain fewer or more housing units than is apparent from the outside. Examples of these would be a large one-family house modified to contain three apartments, a large apartment which has been altered to two smaller apartments, a two-family house which is now occupied entirely by a large family as one residence.

Furnished rooms, light housekeeping units, and rooms rented out to lodgers may sometimes be housing units. The proper classification of such living quarters depends upon the application of the housing unit definition.

I. Referral Cards

	( ) Interviewed*_____ ( ) Phone disconnected*____ ( ) Not at address*_____ ( ) New address unknown by _____ NO CONTACT address confirmed ( ) Mail Box*_____ ( ) Neighbor*_____ ( ) Other_____*____
New address from_____ _____*_____	CONTACT ( ) By phone*_____ ( ) In person*_____ ( ) Secheduled for*_____ ( ) Other_____ ( ) Refused because*_____

*Date and initals of research staff

J. Tri-Lingual Publicity Poster

PAUNAWA

Kung kayo ay Pilipino na nakatira dito sa Mountain View, ang Filipino Association ng Mountain View ay makikipag-alam sa inyo sa lalong madaling panahon. Mayroong "Socio-economic Survey" na ginagawa tungkol sa mga sambahayang pilipino, at pinapakiusap ang inyong kooperasyon. Kung kayo ay hindi pa nasasabihan hanggang ika- 1 ng Oktubre, puwede bang tumawag kayo sa numerong ito: 968-1263.

No Filipino kayo nga agnaed ditoy Mountain View, umay bumisita cadacayo ti Filipino Association ditoy. Adda maararamid nga census maipanggep iti panagbiag [socio-economic] iti amin nga Filipino ditoy ket masapul mi unay ti tulong yo. No saan kayon to pay la nga mabisita inggana ti primero ti Oktubre, no mabalin koma agtelepono kayo: 968-1263.

If you are a Filipino living in Mountain View, the Filipino Association of Mountain View will be contacting you soon. A Socio-Economic Survey of all Filipino households is being done and your cooperation is requested. If you have not been contacted by October 1, 1977 please call this number: 968-1263.

Filipino Association of Mountain View
257 Castro St., Suite 2-E-4
Mountain View, CA 94040 or
P.O. Box 1442, Mt. View, CA 94040

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RESEARCH STAFF BIO-DATA

James Beebe

Prior to this study Mr. Beebe was a Ph.D. candidate in the field of International Education at Stanford University. He had lived and worked in the Philippines from 1968 to 1973 and conducted one year of research there in 1976. His previous personal knowledge of the Mountain View Filipino community was derived from the extended family into which he married. He was responsible for the overall research design, development of the questionnaires, training of the research staff in interview techniques, preparation of the questions for computer analysis, computer analysis of the data, and preparation of the final report.

Gloria (Jello) Bouis

Ms. Bouis is from Manila, the Philippines where she worked as an analyst with the Department of Agriculture. In addition to her regular duties as research assistant, she was responsible for the initial analysis of the income data using Fortran computer language. She worked on the write-up of the chapters on "Employment" and "Income."

Percival (Percy) Draculan

Mr. Draculan is from Santa Maria, Ilocos Sur, the Philippines. He worked in La Union as an investigator for the National Grains Authority. Aside from his research functions, he helped with the last phase in the preparation of an Ilocano version of the questionnaire and helped with the analysis of data concerning household composition.

Esther (Maya) Escudero

Ms. Escudero is from Zamboanga City, Mindanao. She had been a college teacher in Cebu City. In addition to her research duties, she shared

administrative duties and was responsible for the write-up of the chapters on "Handicaps," "Use of Public Services," "Transportation," "Housing," "Filipino Movies, TV, Newspapers and Musical Instruments," "Armed Forces," and the "History of Filipinos in Mountain View."

Renato (Rene) Magtibay

Mr. Magtibay worked with the project for several months in a research assistant capacity before going on to employment using his previous medical field training.

Charmaine Mesina

Ms. Mesina is from Manila where she was a student. Along with her research duties, she was responsible for publicity, the write-up of the chapters on "Immigration," "Impact of Immigration on Job Prestige," and "Material Possessions," and for editing much of the final report.

Corazon (Cora) Oliver

Ms. Oliver immigrated to the United States from Marikina, Rizal where she was assistant principal of an elementary school. In addition to her work as a research assistant, she performed some administrative duties. She was responsible for arranging more than a third of the interviews through initial phone contact and for the preparation of an Ilocano version of the questionnaire, and helped with writing the chapters on "Language Use and Education."